204 In addition, there are a number of newspapers on the provincial level. Notable are the Hopei Jih-pao [Hopei Daily] and the Shansi Jih-pao [the Shansi Daily]. The former is published in Paoting, Hopei Province, and the latter in taiyuan, Shansi Province; both are official organs of thair respective provincial authorities.

Below the provincial level are the newspapers on the administrative district level. At the base of the pyramid are newspapers on the hsien or city level.

The horizontal levels of the press hierarchy are subdivided along functional lines into groups of newspapers for various groups of readers. For example, the People's Daily is directed to all citizens throughout the country; the Workers' Daily, toworkers; the Chung-kuo Ch'ing-nien Pao [the Chinese Youth News], to youth; and the Shansi Nung-min Pao [the Shansi Farmers' News] to farmers in Shansi Province.

203 Printed newspapers are supplemented by many mimeographed newspapers and handwritten "wall newspapers" and "blackboard newspapers" in small localities, factories schools, mass communications, and agricultural producers' co-operatives. These special newspapers are also organs of the Party and the government, and they have the usual editors, editorial boards, and correspondents. The local Party branches constantly keep a watchful eye on their operation and development, and from time to time issue new instructions and regulations to keep them in

203 line.

The importance of these special newspapers must not be overlooked. In view of the fact that the combined circulation of all the printed newspapers in the region is still small as compared with the total population, it must be obvious that the Communists have made maximum use of such special newspapers for propaganda and agitation in addition to dissemination of public information. Like the oral agitator and propagandist, the wall newspaper and blackboard newspaper have, for mass communication, the advantages of flexibility and adaptability. These advantages are particularly conducive to the work of agitation. They can deal more effectively with the problem of production by seizing upon the most appropriate opportunities to criticize indifferent workers and praise those who are energetic.

204 While the overwhelming majority of the newspapers in North China is owned and operated by the Communist Party of China, the government, or mass organizations, the Enlightenment Daily is jointly operated by the so-called "democratic parties" and the Ta-kung Daily is financed by private interests. But these two newspapers are, for all practical purposes, a part of the propaganda apparatus of the Communist regime since they are subject to the same strict control and supervision of the regime as are other newspapers. In point of fact, the Enlightenment

207 gathering places such as factories and schools. 208 Some of these monitors are appointed; others are voluntary workers.[15] But all are utilized to cope with the problems caused by the shortage of radio reception facilities. This practice dates back to September 1945, when the Communist guerrilla forces in North China were, for the first time, able to receive broadcasts emanating from the Communist broadcasting station in Yenan. The Communists hope that, by appointing monitors, they may make the most effective use of the limited number of radio-receiving sets available. The monitors jot down broadcasts, transcribe and mimeograph [203] what they hear, or rewrite the broadcasts in the form of "wall newspapers," thus making it possible for the broadcasts to reach a larger audience.

The fact that monitors can help increase the effectiveness of the radio as a medium of propaganda and public information is enhanced by the two provisions contained in the "Regulations on the Work of Monitors" promulgated on

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15. See "Shou-yin-yüan T'iao-li" [Regulations on the Work of Monitors], People's Daily, April 30, 1950. When the monitors work in teams, their teams are called "monitoring stations". By 1950 every county government in North China already had such a station. In 1954, the Shansi Provincial Committee of the Communist Party declared that it had decided to establish some 1,400 monitoring stations in selected co-operative farms in the province. Ibid., May 20, 1954.